

THE EDINBURGH
COMPANION TO

JAMES
HOGG

EDITED BY IAN DUNCAN AND DOUGLAS S. MACK



The Edinburgh Companion to James Hogg

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CHAPTER FOUR

Hogg's Reception and Reputation

Suzanne Gilbert

In 1944, French novelist André Gide encountered James Hogg's novel *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, into which he 'at once plunged with a stupefaction and admiration that increased at every page'.¹ Making inquiries, he found no one who knew of Hogg's work. In his introduction to the 1947 edition of the novel, Gide asks:

How explain that a work so singular and so enlightening, so especially fitted to arouse passionate interest both in those who are attracted by religious and moral questions, and, for quite other reasons, in psychologists and artists, and above all in surrealists who are so particularly drawn by the demoniac in every shape – how explain that such a work should have failed to become famous?²

Several factors contributed to the obscurity of Hogg's masterpiece. On first publication in 1824 sales were sparse, and reviewers either ignored the novel, or were facetious or disapproving. 'Any degree of unqualified praise is hard to find', in Peter Garside's summary, with 'the general tendency being to see native talent marred by "extravagance", inelegance, and eccentricity'.³ The novel's treatment of Calvinism disturbed readers who wanted their religion straightforward, and their God and demons readily distinguishable. Hogg's experimental impulse, evident in his 'postmodern' refusal to grant authority to a single narrative and his disruptive play with forms and conventions, was perhaps even less acceptable. Nor did publishers deem Hogg's book a marketable product. Austen, Edgeworth, Ferrier, Galt, Godwin, Peacock and other contemporaries remained in the public eye when, in the late 1820s, Richard Bentley bought the 'tail-ends' of copyrights of out-of-print novels for a series designed to exploit the expanding industrial-age literary market. As William St Clair explains, 'With a new title coming out every few weeks, Bentley's *Standard Novels* provided several years' worth of continuous serial reading, a delayed, carefully selected, series of most of the best fictional writing of recent times'; *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, along with Hogg's other novel-length fictions, failed to make the cut.⁴

The trajectory of Hogg's reputation has presented scholars with a range of

difficulties and contradictions. This chapter traces key factors in that trajectory, including the early focus on Hogg's labouring-class roots, his complex involvement with the persona of the 'Ettrick Shepherd', and his contentious relations with the publishing world during his lifetime. It considers the distinctive North American reception of Hogg's work as well as its Victorian bowdlerisation, which contributed to its virtual disappearance from the modern literary canon. Finally, it traces the ongoing recovery of Hogg's reputation following Gide's reading of the *Confessions* in the mid-twentieth century.

Early reactions to Hogg's work turned on assumptions about his social status. Commenting on the (just published) *The Mountain Bard* (1807), the *Poetical Register* viewed Hogg as an example of the Romantic-era phenomenon of the peasant poet:

The labouring class of society has, of late years, teemed with poets, and would-be poets. If it should much longer display the same fertility, there will not be a single trade or calling which will not have produced a bard. Mr. Hogg is the poet of the Shepherds; and is really an honour to them.⁵

The reviewer characterises shepherds as naturally fitted for poetry; they were 'always a poetical tribe', and Hogg's ballads 'are in the true style of that sort of writing': 'simple and natural, [containing] many spirited and picturesque ideas and descriptions, and, occasionally, strokes of genuine humour'.⁶ *The Literary Panorama*, associating these qualities with an earlier, less civilised stage of society, voices another recurrent concern: Hogg's poetic success depends upon his knowing his place, and not neglecting 'his *proper* business'. He may dabble in writing, but he has also 'gained two prizes from the Highland Society, for Essays connected with the rearing and management of sheep'.⁷

Early reviews generally approve of Hogg's efforts, though the tone is inevitably patronising. Most assume that 'self-taught poets' lack originality: 'They are frequently the most servile imitators of the few, and often bad models, to which they may have gained access.' It was Hogg's best strategy to write about what he knew: 'to select a few of the traditional tales of his native district, about which the public curiosity had just then been excited, and attempt to relate them in a style resembling that of the ancient ballad'. The public's interest in ballads had indeed been raised by Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802–3), and Hogg's efforts were deemed not 'altogether unsuccessful': his ballad imitations, 'though not sufficiently exact to deceive a connoisseur, have yet a very considerable likeness to their originals'.⁸

In general, reviewers devote far more space to appraising Hogg's life than to analysing his works. They dwell on the incongruity of a little-

educated shepherd managing to produce such writing, and express surprise at his achievement 'considering the disadvantages of his situation'.⁹ In the advertisement to the second edition of *The Queen's Wake* (1813), Hogg's publisher, George Goldie, assured readers that the poem was

really and truly the production of *James Hogg*, a common Shepherd, bred among the mountains of Ettrick Forest, who went to service when only seven years of age; and since that period has never received any education whatever.¹⁰

Inflected with varying degrees of condescension or irony, this would remain the dominant theme of critical responses to Hogg's work throughout his career.

Hogg was heavily involved in his own construction as a self-educated Ettrick poet who became 'king o' the mountain and fairy school', as distinct from what he considered Scott's official but less authentic 'school o' chivalry'.¹¹ Hogg's arrival on the literary scene was modest and self-promoted; coming from obscurity, he had to seek ways of putting himself before the public. Recognising the value of the persona of the inspired rustic, he followed the common practice of signing poems in magazines with epithets ranging from 'A Shepherd', to 'Ettrick. A Shepherd', to 'the Ettrick Shepherd', to 'James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd'.¹² He reports that long before his literary career took off he had enjoyed regional celebrity as 'Jamie the poeter', famous for wooing the local lasses with his singing,¹³ and he found a home for some of those early songs in *The Scots Magazine*. His self-published first collection of poems, *Scottish Pastorals* (1801), received almost no attention. Hogg's involvement with collecting ballads for the third volume of *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* marked a watershed. The enthusiastic reception of Scott's work demonstrated a broad public appreciation for the traditional culture that had produced the ballads, and Hogg was encouraged to put together his own collection of original ballads and songs, *The Mountain Bard*.

Here the story of Hogg's reception takes an important turn. By far the most influential way in which he shaped his public persona and reputation was through the 'Memoir of the Life of James Hogg' that he wrote as an introduction to *The Mountain Bard*. In the 'Memoir' (conceived when his poetry for *The Scots Magazine* began to attract queries about its unknown author),¹⁴ Hogg undertakes a strategic effort to authenticate his roots and narrate his career in terms of an overcoming of early adversity. Hogg expanded the 'Memoir' for the revised *Mountain Bard* (1821) in order to frame and justify his status as a professional writer, and he recast it again for *Altrive Tales* (1832) to romanticise his origins from the standpoint of an established man of letters. The connection between self-representation and reception was irrevocably sealed. The 'Memoir' became a primary source for decades of

commentators, shaping Hogg's reputation in incalculable ways, defining – and redefining – his literary legacy.

Other pressures shaped the subsequent reception of Hogg's work. He faced censorship and misrepresentation, and consequently looked for ways to circumvent the various kinds of control that publishers imposed. As his career developed, he sought to retain control of the 'Etrick Shepherd' identity while also distinguishing himself within wider circles, going 'professional' with the 1810 move to Edinburgh, becoming '[n]o longer a Borders shepherd and farmer who also wrote poetry but a would-be metropolitan writer'.¹⁵ In his weekly miscellany, *The Spy*, Hogg sought to consolidate his rural credentials while at the same time asserting his fitness to comment on Edinburgh's cultural scene. As Ian Duncan puts it, however, 'the editors and reviewers who monitored the literary marketplace would invoke [his rural] origins to disqualify Hogg's attempts to write in metropolitan genres'.¹⁶ Hogg acknowledged in the last number that as the identity of 'Mr. Spy' became known 'the number of his subscribers diminished': 'The learned, the enlightened, and polite circles of this flourishing metropolis disdained either to be amused or instructed by the ebullitions of humble genius'.¹⁷

Hogg's next major work, *The Queen's Wake* (1813), met with unprecedented approbation. He was praised for 'genius, taste, and skill', and for 'versatility of talent' (*Edinburgh Star*). In the *Monthly Magazine*, Capel Lofft effused:

Greater ease and spirit, a sweeter, richer, more animated and easy flow of versification, more clearness of language, more beauty of imagery, more grandeur, fervour, pathos, and occasionally more vivid and awful sublimity, can hardly be found.¹⁸

The *Theatrical Inquisitor* commended Hogg for a 'natural and original' sense of humour, 'decidedly superior' to Scott's.¹⁹ Most reviewers continued to emphasise his humble origins, as in the *Scots Magazine's* relegation of him to 'the first rank among men of self-taught genius'.²⁰ Publication of *The Queen's Wake* was undoubtedly 'a life-changing event' for Hogg, making him a 'famous author', on friendly terms with Byron and Wordsworth; as Douglas S. Mack notes, 'Now he could with justice feel that he was being taken seriously as a poet'.²¹ Six editions were published over the course of the decade, and his name came to be coupled with the phrase 'the author of *The Queen's Wake*'.

Hogg's financial situation in the 1810s meant that he was constantly scrambling to stay afloat, caught between the demands of a literary life in Edinburgh and an agricultural one in Etrick. Additionally, like other writers of his class, he suffered repercussions from the social and political upheaval of the period. Many of the most damaging representations of Hogg emerged

during the turbulent years of economic hardship and social unrest between the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the early 1820s. Hogg's writings drew criticism for the alternative viewpoints he offered on social issues and historical events, as in that 'challengingly egalitarian' narrative poem *Mador of the Moor* (1816),²² and for his advocacy of traditional rural life, as in *The Brownie of Bodsbeck and Other Tales* (1818). Meanwhile, his increasingly audacious self-fashioning as a professional writer, driven in part by his precarious finances, led to strained relations with a succession of publishers.

When Hogg revised *The Mountain Bard* for publication in 1821, he expanded the introductory 'Memoir', including some controversial remarks about Scott and airing his disagreements with reviewers and publishers, in particular George Goldie. The targets of his attack, and the social circles that supported them, were deeply offended and responded accordingly. Reviews of the volume focus almost obsessively on the grievances detailed in the memoir, usually to the exclusion of talking about the poetry at all. Writing for the *Edinburgh Monthly Review*, David Laing accused Hogg of having 'acted unadvisedly' in making public 'what may have been said in ordinary conversation, or occurred in familiar and personal transactions'.²³ Hogg privately vented his exasperation with 'David Laing's canting and insolent review' and 'Goldie's notorious lies', adding: 'Wo is me if I am to be measured by the trade!'²⁴ During this period he also fell out with William Blackwood, mostly over the publication in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* of a vitriolic response to the 'Memoir' by John Wilson. A significant contrast may be seen in reviews from outside the volatile Edinburgh literary scene, which tended to reiterate the genteel condescension that greeted the 1807 *Mountain Bard*.

The trend of marginalising Hogg intensified throughout the 1820s, thanks largely to the appearance of the 'Ettrick Shepherd' in the popular series 'Noctes Ambrosianae', which ran from 1822 to 1835 in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. As Garside observes, 'Publicity in the "Noctes" was as always a mixed blessing, on the one hand severely threatening Hogg's claim to be treated seriously as a literary figure, yet at the same time offering personal publicity on a scale that could not be found elsewhere' (p. lxxvii).²⁵ Wilson's characterisation of the Shepherd as a naturally poetic buffoon certainly distorted Hogg's brand. In a burlesque of Romantic theories of inspired composition, Wilson represents Hogg as barely able to recall having written his own song:

When the book was sent out a' printed to Yarrowside, od! I just read the maist feck on't as if I had never seen't afore; and as for that sang in particular ['Come all ye jolly shepherds'], I'll gang before the Baillies the morn, and tak' my affidavit that I had no more mind o' *when* I wrote it, or *how* I wrote it, or anything

whatever concerning it – no more than if it had been a screed of heathen Greek. I behoved to have written't sometime, and someway, since it was there – but that's a' I kent. – I maun surely hae flung't aff some night when I was a thought dazed, and just sent it in to the printer without looking at it in the morning.²⁶

Features of the caricature resurfaced elsewhere, solidifying the connection between the fictional Shepherd of the 'Noctes' and the writer James Hogg. As Duncan has shown, Wilson depicts Hogg in terms of animal physicality or 'hoggishness' in his unsigned review of *The Three Perils of Woman*: 'In one page, we listen to the song of the nightingale, and in another, to the grunt of the boar. Now the wood is vocal with the feathered choir; and then the sty bubbles and squeaks with a farm-sow and a litter of nineteen pigwiggins.'²⁷ At the heart of Wilson's representation, Duncan argues, is a 'satirical equation of Hogg with his body'.²⁸ Reluctance to allow Hogg to overcome the perceived limitations of his background, often expressed in terms of a physical appearance inassimilable to polite society, was not restricted to the 'Noctes'. John Gibson Lockhart sketches a similar caricature in *Peter's Letters to his Kinfolk* (1819):

Although for some time past he has spent a considerable portion of every year in excellent, even in refined society, the external appearance of the man can have undergone but very little change since he was 'a herd on Yarrow'. His face and hands are still as brown as if he lived entirely *sub dio*. His very hair has a coarse stringiness about it, which proves beyond dispute its utter ignorance of all arts of the friseur; and hangs in playful whips and cords about his ears, in a style of the most perfect innocence imaginable.²⁹

Critics ventriloquised Hogg as irrepressible, and therefore dangerous. Wilson's Shepherd boasts, 'o' a' things whatsoever, be it in sacred matters or profane, I detest moderation'.³⁰ The characterisation recurs in reviews worrying that Hogg has gone too far, violating taste and decorum through some combination of poor judgement, recklessness, and ignorance: the symptoms of his low social origins. What reviewers of *Winter Evening Tales* (1820) judged as 'indelicacies' Hogg saw as virtues: 'there was a blunt rusticity about [the tales]; but I liked them the better for it'.³¹ Nor was he conciliatory towards his censors, taking them to task in the guise of the 'shepherd poet' of *Queen Hynde* (1824):

Bald, brangling, brutal, insincere;
The bookman's venal gazetteer;
Down with the trash, and every gull
That gloats upon their garbage dull!³²

The *Westminster Review* remarked, 'It is very natural, that Hogg should fear and hate reviewers, and their readers.'³³ Given the rough – and excessively personal – treatment meted out to him, it is not surprising that Hogg complained that 'the whole of the aristocracy and literature of our country were set against me and determined to keep me down nay to crush me to a nonentity'.³⁴

Social prejudice distorted assessments of Hogg's work throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. This is obvious, for example, in the reception of *The Domestic Manners and Private Life of Sir Walter Scott* (1834; first published as *Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott*). Hogg's handling of Scott's memory was met with outrage. William Maginn, writing in *Fraser's Magazine*, was notably scathing:

If by domestic manners he had intended the manners of Sir Walter's domestics, there is no doubt that he is fully qualified, from taste, relationship, congeniality of sentiment, and considerable social intercourse with them, to do the subject justice; but as to the manners of Sir Walter himself, as well might we expect from a costermonger an adequate sketch of the clubs in St James's Street.³⁵

Jill Rubenstein observes that 'the small-minded nastiness' of this review offers 'a vivid reminder of what Hogg endured as the accompaniment of any literary success he enjoyed in his lifetime'.³⁶

When *Anecdotes of Scott* was published, Scott's official biographer and son-in-law Lockhart tried to get reviewers to ignore it. Lockhart's later characterisation in his *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott* (1837–8) haunted Hogg's reception for well over a century. Lockhart evaluates Hogg's writing as 'exceedingly rugged and uncouth' but nonetheless showing 'abundant traces of [. . .] native shrewdness and genuine poetical feeling'. In his famous anecdote of the visit paid by the 'rustic genius' to Scott's town house in Edinburgh, Lockhart portrays Hogg, devastatingly, as a mannerless boor who presumes to emulate Lady Scott by stretching out on a sofa in his dirty clothing, his hands bearing 'legible marks of a recent sheep-smearing', dining 'heartily' and drinking 'freely':

As the liquor operated, his familiarity increased and strengthened; from Mr Scott, he advanced to "Sherra," and thence to "Scott," "Walter," and "Wattie," – until, at supper, he fairly convulsed the whole party by addressing Mrs Scott, as "Charlotte".³⁷

Hogg exposes himself as either ignorant of proper behaviour or blatantly disregarding it. Either way, the shepherd eclipses the author; Lockhart's monumental caricature of an uncouth upstart comes to stand for Hogg's entire career.

While reviewers often characterised Hogg as a provincial writer, his work found readers beyond Britain; *Winter Evening Tales* was translated into German, and *The Three Perils of Woman* into French. American publishers reprinted Hogg's poems, songs, stories, and all of his novels except for the *Confessions*. America also provided a home for original material, as Janette Currie has shown in her annotated list of his American publications from 1807 to 1911.³⁸ As Hogg wrote to a foreign correspondent for an American newspaper, 'I learned from many sources that my brethren beyond the Atlantic were sincere friends and admirers of mine and I tried to prop several of their infant periodicals.'³⁹ In 1834, *Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott* first appeared in New York, and Hogg reports sending other material to its editor Simeon de Witt Bloodgood, which Bloodgood later published in the *Albany Zodiac*.⁴⁰

There was, of course, a strong cultural base for the reception of Hogg's work in North America. The presence of a large population of well-educated Scottish emigrants and their descendants encouraged booksellers to publish material on Scottish subjects and by Scottish authors.⁴¹ Describing Hogg's transatlantic readership as 'unquestionably large and enthusiastic',⁴² Andrew Hook observes that he was 'probably the most popular [writer] in America as both poet and story-teller' on 'Scottish subjects and themes'; and that almost all his writings after *The Queen's Wake* 'received favourable attention'.⁴³ In 1834 the *American Monthly* reported a conversation between Hogg and an American visitor:

'They tell me', said he again, 'that my writings are kent in America.' I answered that they had all been reprinted there and were as well known and as much esteemed as in Scotland.⁴⁴

The 'Shepherd' persona was also well known: 'In America the popularity of the *Noctes Ambrosianae* has been proved by the extent to which they have been republished and circulated in that country', wrote the work's American editor in 1864.⁴⁵ Outside literary Edinburgh Hogg's reputation seems to have suffered little from Wilson's caricature. Hogg was popular in nineteenth-century America because his personal narrative appealed to Enlightenment ideals of 'improvement' and self-help, and because the democratic and humanitarian impulses of his work paralleled those current in American political discourse.⁴⁶ An article in the *American Monthly Magazine*, 'The Ettrick Shepherd and Other Scotch Poets', rebuts the standard British assessments of Hogg and Burns:

They were peasants indeed; but not in that sense in which the word would be understood almost anywhere out of their own country; for no peasantry in

Europe, we may venture to say, can be compared in equal terms with the peasantry of Scotland. There is not only none more generally furnished with the rudiments of scholastic education, but none that values them more highly, or is better prepared to profit by them, from a native characteristic intelligence, which education gratifies but does not create.⁴⁷

Hogg's innate 'knowledge of human and physical nature' supplements the basic schooling of which he has made the best possible use.

After Hogg's death in 1835 his reception continued to be shaped by legends and anecdotes – some of them self-constructed, others imposed. Some stories of his colourful life and behaviour, such as Lockhart's regarding his visit to Scott, achieved a kind of canonicity. Despite the distortions, however, he inspired and influenced many nineteenth-century British writers, from the Brontës to Robert Louis Stevenson.⁴⁸ Hogg's American popularity meant that writers such as Irving, Cooper, Poe, Emerson, Hawthorne, Melville, Thoreau and Longfellow were familiar with him, as they acknowledged in their own published work and correspondence.

The posthumous editions of Hogg's *Tales & Sketches* (1837) and *Poetical Works* (1838–40) published by the Glasgow firm of Blackie & Son omitted many of his works and altered and bowdlerised those they did include; these were the basis for subsequent editions, notably the Rev. Thomas Thomson's two-volume *Works of the Ettrick Shepherd* (Blackie, 1865). In these watered-down, relatively lifeless versions Hogg was read by the Victorians. *Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, subject to especially grievous alteration in the Blackie editions (under the title *Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Fanatic*), was reprinted in its original version in 1894, evidence of a growing interest in the work in the *fin de siècle*. However it was not until Gide's advocacy, half a century later, that Hogg's masterpiece attained the status of a modern classic. The appearance of Hogg's texts in their original versions in the Stirling/South Carolina Research Edition, from the mid-1990s, has begun to bring the entirety of his achievement to light and reshape his international reputation. Today many readers are able to echo Edwin Morgan's assessment that in Hogg 'we have an author of unique interest, force, and originality'.⁴⁹

- (NLS), MS 599, fols 281–2) was sent to Alexander Ballantyne, printer of the *Kelso Mail*, by the Duke of Buccleuch in a letter of 22 October 1818 (NLS, MS 580, fol. 123); see also ‘The Young Buccleuch’ in the *Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle* of 15 September 1830.
22. *Letters*, III, p. 256.
 23. *Letters*, II, p. 456.
 24. *Letters*, III, p. 283.
 25. Gillian Hughes, ‘The Importance of the Periodical Environment in Hogg’s Work for Chambers’s *Edinburgh Journal*’, in *Papers Given at the First Conference of the James Hogg Society* (Stirling: James Hogg Society, 1983), pp. 40–8.
 26. *Letters*, III, p. 190.

Chapter 4 – Gilbert

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6. *Ibid.*
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14. See Hogg, *The Mountain Bard*, pp. 123–36.
15. Gillian Hughes, *James Hogg: A Life* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), p. 82.
16. Ian Duncan, *Scott’s Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 148.

17. James Hogg, *The Spy*, ed. Gillian Hughes (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p. 514.
18. *Monthly Magazine* 35 (May, 1813), p. 501; see Hogg, *The Queen's Wake*, p. 1.
19. *Ibid.*, p. li.
20. *Ibid.*, p. l.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. lii–liii.
22. *Ibid.*, p. lxxvii.
23. *New Edinburgh Monthly Review* 5 (June 1821), pp. 662–72 (p. 671).
24. James Hogg, *The Collected Letters of James Hogg, vol. 2, 1820–1831*, ed. by Gillian Hughes et al. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p. 94.
25. Hogg, *Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, p. lxxvii.
26. ‘Noctes Ambrosianae’ 8, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 13 (May 1823), p. 599.
27. Duncan, *Scott's Shadow*, p. 174; ‘Hogg's Three Perils of Woman’, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 14 (October 1823), p. 427.
28. Duncan, *Scott's Shadow*, p. 174.
29. J. G. Lockhart, *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk*, ed. William Ruddick (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1977), p. 45
30. ‘Noctes Ambrosianae’ 20, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 28 (October 1826), p. 624.
31. Hogg, ‘Memoir of the Life of James Hogg’, in *The Mountain Bard* (1821), p. 230.
32. James Hogg, *Queen Hynde*, ed. Suzanne Gilbert and Douglas S. Mack (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), p. 176.
33. *Westminster Review* 3 (April 1825), pp. 531–7 (p. 537); see Hogg, *Queen Hynde*, p. 1.
34. Hogg, *Anecdotes of Scott*, p. xviii.
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36. Hogg, *Anecdotes of Scott*, p. xxvi.
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 43. Hook, *Scotland and America*, p. 152.
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 45. John Wilson, *Noctes Ambrosianae*, ed. James Frederick Ferrier, 4 vols (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1864), vol. 2, p. ix
 46. I am grateful to Janette Currie for this suggestion.
 47. Extracted from *The American Monthly Magazine* (Boston: Pierce and Williams; N. P. Willis), 1 (November 1829), pp. 522–30. The magazine was edited by Nathaniel Parker Willis from April 1829 to July 1831. See Janette Currie, 'The American Reception of Hogg's Work', *James Hogg: Research*, www.jameshogg.stir.ac.uk/showrecord.php?id=64&fulltext=1 (accessed June 2011).
 48. See Hughes's chapter, 'Afterlives' (Chapter 16).
 49. Edwin Morgan, 'The Stirling/South Carolina Edition of James Hogg', *Scottish Literary Journal*, Supplement 44 (Spring 1996), pp. 1–2.

Chapter 5 – de Groot

I thank Gillian Hughes for the helpful comments she made on an earlier draft of this Chapter.

1. In each case the dates given are those of the actual journeys. The travel accounts were published later, sometimes much later. On eighteenth-century travels to the Highlands, see Martin Rackwitz, *Travels to Terra Incognita: The Scottish Highlands and Hebrides in Early Modern Travellers' Accounts, c. 1600 to 1800* (Münster: Waxman, 2007).
2. See Hogg, James, *Collected Letters*, ed. Gillian Hughes and others, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004–8), I, pp. 3–4.
3. All extant portions of Hogg's accounts of the 1802, 1803 and 1804 journeys have been brought together in Hogg, *Highland Journeys*, ed. H. B. de Groot (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010). Further references to this text are made in the body of this chapter. For earlier accounts of the *Highland Journeys*, see Silvia Mergenthal, *Selbstbild und Bild: Zur Rezeption des Ettrick Shepherd* (Frankfurt-am-Main: P. Lang, 1990); Antony J. Hasler, 'Reading the Land: James Hogg and the Highlands', *Studies in Hogg and his World* 4 (1993), 57–82; Gillian Hughes, *James Hogg: A Life* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 48–60.
4. See Janette Currie, Appendices III and IV in Hogg, *Highland Journeys*, pp. 231–45.